

The Case Put,
Concerning the
S U C C E S S I O N
OF HIS
ROYAL HIGHNESS
THE
DUKE of YORK.

WITH
Some Observations upon the *Political*
Catechism, The Appeal, &c. And
Three or Four other Seditious Libels.

By Roger L'Estrange.

The Third Edition Enlarged.

LONDON,

Printed for H. Brome at the Signe of the Gun
in S. Pauls Church-yard. 1680.

The Tale of

Concerning the

of his

ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE

DUKE OF YORK

WITH
Some Observations upon the
Constitution, The Appeal, &c. And
Three or Four other additional Libels.

By R. G. L. L. L.

The Rights of the Nation enlarged.

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The Case Put,

Concerning the

S U C C E S S I O N

OF HIS

ROYAL HIGHNESS

The DUKE of YORK.



THE Case of His Royal Highnesses Succession (in regard of the present circumstances of Plots and Popery) has been of late, sufficiently agitated, *Pro*, and *Con*; while the *Advocates* of Both sides pretend equally to support themselves upon Arguments drawn from *Nature*, *Scripture*, *Law*, *History*, *Custom*, and *Political Expedience*. [*Et Pila minantia Pilis*] Now as it is utterly impossible for a *Contradiction*, to be *Both ways* in the *Right*; so the Difficulty will not be much less, for a Common man, in a Proposition of this Nicety, to distinguish betwixt the *Truth*, and the *Paradox*; and to determine, upon which side the *Reason* lies. Or what if the Contentends themselves should yet in some degree, have left the very Pinch of

The Dukes Succession the Common Subject of the Pres.

Law, and Scripture pretended on Both sides.

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the

History of the Revolution 2128 M. L. 6

Texts, and
Presidents
may be
misapplied.

Heresie,
and Sediti-
on, pre-
tend Texts,
and Presi-
den's.

Texts and
Presidents
to all Pur-
poses.

Have a
Care of
perverted
Authori-
ties.

the Point betwixt them? For it is not the bare Citing of a piece of *Scripture*, or a *Record*, that does the business; but the fair *Expounding*, and *Applying* of it, with a due Regard, to the Context of *Times*, *Persons*, *Interests*, *Occasions*, and other Circumstances. There is a great difference betwixt the *Counsels* of *Faction* *Times*, and of *Peaceable*; of *Usurpers*, and of *Lawful Princes*; the *Concessions* of *Kings* in a Moral State of *Liberty*, and of *Kings* under a kind of *Duress*. We should, in fine, distinguish betwixt the *Sacred*, and *Inviolable Resolutions*, that are founded upon *Equity*, and the *Common Good*, and those *Temporary Shifts*, which are only Invented to serve a *present Turn* of *State*. Was there ever any *Sedition* that did not recommend, and support it self upon some pretext of *Law* and *President*? Was there ever any *Heresie*, or *Schism*, that did not advance it self under the Countenance of some *Text*? And yet Heaven forbid, that we should think ever the worse, either of the word of *God*, or of the *Law of the Land*, for being made use of as a Cloak to so much wickedness. He that has a mind to destroy the *Discipline*, the *Order*, or the very *Doctrine* of the *Church of England*, shall Quote ye twenty *Texts* for't; and as many *Presidents*, (if there shall be occasion) for *Diverting*, or *Cutting off* the *Succession*; nay for *Deposing* the *King Himself*, and *Changing* the very *Form* of the *Government*. This is no more then what has been actually done in the Memory of Man. 'Tis a hard matter to imagine a *New Case*: So that let the Instance be what it will, it is but looking back into Former Ages, to match it with *Presidents*, ready made to your hand (like *Cloaths* in a *wholesale Shop*) of all *Sizes*, and *Colours*.

Wherefore we should have a care, methinks, of dealing in *perverted Texts*, and *Presidents*. The Devil himself fishes with these Baits; and (as some body says) the Rabble swallow them whole, without either examining, or dreaming of the Danger, till they feel the Hook in their Guts. Or, if I may change my *Metaphor*; the

Common

The Case Put.

5

Common people are caught just as we catch *Larks*; 'Tis but setting up a *fine Thing* for a *Wonderment*, they'll flock to't as far as they can see it, and never leave *Flickering* about it, till the Fowler has them in the *Net*. A Pomp of *words*, and *Colours*, to the *Multitude*; is but the Casting of the *Sun* in their *Eyes* from a *Looking-Glass*; the more they *look* at it, the less able they are to *discern* what the matter is: & the great mischief is this; they never take themselves to be so *Clear sighted*, as in those cases wherein they are *Stark-blind*. They are akin to what d'ye call him's *Monsters*; their *Eyes* are in their *Breasts*, and their *Brains* in their *Bellies*: And therefore whosoever would make an Interest with the *Vulgar*, applies himself not to their *Understandings*, but to their *Passions*, and *Appetites*. He comes with *Absolons Exclamation* in his mouth, *Oh! that I were made a Judge in the Land!* which seldom fails of being the Prolouge to some approaching Tragedy. But let me try now, If I can find my way back again.

There is an *Affertion* laid down, *That all the Humane Acts, and Powers in the world, cannot hinder the Descent of the Crown upon the Next Heir of the Blood.* This *Position*, the *Affertor* undertakes to make *Good* by *Scripture*, *Law*, *History*, and *Reason*. And his *Opponents*, on the other side, undertake, upon the very same *Authorities*, to *Overthrow* it; and I find a very Extraordinary Pen engaged in the Controversie: We shall enquire, first, *How this Question came at this time, to be set a Foot*; and then, *into the Quality of the Question it self.*

There was a *Bill* brought into the House of *Commons*, in *May last*; (which was *Twice read*) for *disabling His Royal Highness to Inherit this Imperial Crown*, because of his *Departure from Us to the Romish Communion*. The matter going no further, and That Parliament being so soon after *Dissolv'd*; there came forth, in *Print*, a *Pretended Copy* of that *Bill*; which was publish'd by a Person (if a *mans Affections may be judg'd by his Practices*) that

The Dispute, Pro, and Con.

How the Question came to be set a Foot.

has

has as little kindness for his Majesty, as for his *Royal Brother*; and not one jot more for the Church of *England*, then for *That of Rome*: Of both which Aversions, there are Instances more than enough: Beside that in the very same Pamphlet, he carries an *Inference*, from the Case of *Foreclosing the Duke*, to the same Right of *Removing the King himself*; in case of disability (as he says) *to do the Kingdom any Good*. So that instead of pursuing the seeming ends of the said Bill; that is to say, the *Preservation of His Majesty*, and the *Protestant Religion*, by *This Act of Exclusion*; he very fairly, and for brevity sake. *Sweeps all together*. By the Character of the *First Publisher*, we may Imagine the *Intent of That Publication*: And it is further to be noted, that the *Anti-Ducal Party* were the *Aggressors*; and it would have lookt like a yielding of the Cause, to have let the Subject fall without a Reply. So that the Blame (if any shall arise from this Matter) must be laid at his door that mov'd the Question, which Question is briefly This.

The King
Removed
by Consequence.

Who were
the Ag-
gressours.

The Case
Put.

A prepo-
sterous
Question

Reasons
why the
Question
ought not
to have
been Put.

Whether the Parliament of England, may by the Laws of England, Exclude the next Heir of the Blood from Succession to the Crown. Some are of opinion for it, others against it; But the *Legality*, or *Illegality* of such an *Act*, is a Point that I am not willing to meddle with, either one way, or other. For whether the thing may *Lawfully* be done, or *not*, there may be *Danger yet*, and *Inconvenience*, in the putting of the *Question*, So that, in the Order of Reasoning, it should be first agreed, that this is a *fit Question* to be *put*, before we joyn Issue upon the *Merits* of the *Main Cause*. For my own part, I think it had been much better let alone; and that out of divers respects, in their due places to be consider'd.

First, as to the *Question it self*; it is a Ticklish Point, to say, what a *King of Great Britain*, with his *Two Houses of Parliament*, either *Can*, or *Cannot Lawfully* do: when perhaps it would puzzle the *Three Inns of Court*, to *State*, and *Determine* the very *Privileges* of the *Single House*.

The Case Put.

House of Commons. Secondly, I do not know how far *Private men* may be allow'd to pronounce upon the *Power of that Government*, to which they are Born Subjects. Thirdly, This Particular Case renders the Undertaking more *Invidious*, and *Dangerous*: The King, 'tis true, calls the House of Commons to Consult, and Advise de *Arduis Regni*; (Of which *Ardua* That now in hand is undoubtedly the *Chief*) but I cannot yet learn that the *Soluta Multitudo* were ever joyn'd with their *Representatives* in the *Commission*. Fourthly, what can be more *Hazardous*, then the Probable *Effects* of this *Dispute*? It Splits the People directly into *Two Parties*; One of which is certainly in the *wrong*: and the *Publick Peace* endanger'd upon the *Division*. Beside that the People being made *Judges* of a Case, that they do not one jot *Understand*; it looks as if they were not call'd upon so much for their *Opinion*, as for their *Help*. The Publishing *Manifesto's* of this kind is not so much the *Stating* of a Case, as the *Preingaging* of an *Interest*; for it is not a *Rush* matter, to the Multitude, whether the thing be *Lawfull*, or *Not*, according to the *Law* of the *Land*: Let but Them be once possess'd, that it is *Reasonable*, and for the *Common Good*, (tho' in *Truth*, never so *Inconvenient*, and *Unreasonable*) the *Old Story* of *Self-preservation*, and *Kings* being *Constituted* for the *Good* of the *People*, (in their mistaken sense) will make it *Lawful*. And when it comes to That once, the Government is *Lost*. A Popular Error, upon the Matter here in Debate, must necessarily draw after it a train of dismal Consequences: as *distraktion of Thought*, in the bus'ness of *Conscience*, and *Duty*; an *Aversion* to their *Superiors*; *Ir-reverence* to the *Laws*, and a *Spirit of Opposition* to all *Publick Acts* of *Civil Administration*: if not an *Usurpation* of the *Power* it self. And all this is no more, then for them to pass a *Sentence* in a Case where we our selves have given 'em the *Chair*. The very *Exposing* of the *Question*, is a kind of *Reference*; as who should say,

Gentlemen,

The People Incom-petent Judges of the Case.

An Error of dangerous Consequence.

Great mischief, and

Gentlemen, can the Parliament disinherit the Duke or not? And This They take for an Authority, to proceed upon, to an Arbitration. Now, on the Other side, I cannot find so much as one Colourable Pretence of Advantage, by the broaching of This Dispute, to Countervail all these Mischiefs.

The Dis-
pure Justified.

It is a great matter, you't say, the Clearing of a Truth? especially of a Truth so necessary to be known? that the safety and well-being of every Particular man; the Preservation of our King, Ringdome, and Religion, depends upon the People's understanding this matter aright.

The Que-
stion a
Moot-
Point.

First, as to the clearing of the Truth;—*Magno Jndice se quisque tuctur.* The very Question is a Moot-point. One Probable is set up against Another; and the Learned Themselves are Divided upon't. There are Presidents produced on Both sides; and Objections also on Both sides to Those Presidents. And in short; it must be the work of a Casuist, as well as of a Common Lawyer, to decide this Controversie. How shall the Common People come to distinguish between the Right, and the Wrong; where the Doctors themselves Differ? Or how is it possible, to make any thing Clear, to Those that want Capacities to Understand it? How shall They come to separate matter of Fact, from Right? To know what Presidents are Warrantable, or what Cases Parallel, and what not; without any sort of acquaintance, either with Law, or History; with the Intrigues of Parties and Factions; or the secret Resorts of State? If it be said that These Books are written only for such as are Competent Judges of the Subject they Treat of; my Answer is, that it were well if they could be kept from falling into Other hands. But lying open, indifferently, to All, it is to be fear'd that the Argument does more hurt where it is not thoroughly understood; then Good, where it is. And there is This further to be said; that in all Cases of Appeal to the People, whether they Understand them, or not, they never fail of siding with those Propositions, that Promise Liberty, to the Subject,

Subject, and Fetter the Government. So that their Partiality, in One Case, is as bad as their Ignorance, in Another.

If it be agreed, that a man cannot be the better for any thing that he does *not Understand*; (or at least, so far as he does not Understand it) and that not *one man* of a *thousand* understands the *Stress* of the Point here in *Issue*; the pretence of *clearing the Truth* falls to the ground: Or however, there is not *one man* of a *Thousand* the *Better* for't.

But now on the *Other side*; let us suppose the people so wise, that every man that reads the Case sees through it. This might serve to set *some* people *Right*, and to *Confirm Others*. But *Right*? In *What*? In the *Critical Explication of a Riddle of State*: which would serve us just to as much purpose, as the Knack of *Solving other Common Riddles*. It would make us (as many other *Curiosities* do) only a little *more Learnedly*, and *Unprofitably Troublesom*. It is not the *Common peoples Province*, to dive into the *Arcana Imperii*; and it is as little, either their *Duty* or their *Interest*, to intermeddle in the *Mysteries of Government*. As the *Universe* it self is compacted into *one Body*, by the *Orderly Disposition*, and *Contiguity of Parts*: So is every *Political Society* also bound up in *One Community*, by a *Regular Distribution*, and *Subordination of Degrees, Offices, and Functions*. And is not all This, the *Work* and *Dictate* of the same *Almighty Providence*? He that *made the World*, appointed the *Order* of it; and assigned to every *Part*, its proper *Place*, and *Station*.

But to proceed now, upon the admittance of a Supposition, that the Subject matter of this Dispute is competently *Understood*. *Tis as Broad as 'tis Long*, take it which way ye please; And the very *same thing*, to the *People*, whether it goes *For the Duke*, or *Against him*. If they find that a *Parliament* *Cannot Disinherit him*, they

An Unprofitable Question.

The Case Put.

they are but where they were before; unless they should Impose it upon the Government by Force. And what, on the *Other side*, if the Parliament may *Legally Do it*; May they not as *Legally yet Refuse it*; So that the *People* are ty'd up *This way*, as well as the *Other*; without any manner of Benefit, beyond the *bare knowledge* whether the thing may be done, or *not*. If the Parliament *will*, they *May*; and if they will *not*, they may let it *alone*. But it many times falls out, that Overtures of this Nature serve rather as a *Temptation* to the doing of some thing at a *Venture*, then a simple, and candid *Deliberation*, whether a thing may *Lawfully* be done, or *no*. Or what if This thing may *Lawfully* be done? we are never the nearer yet: if His Majesty has not as well the *Will* to do it, as the *Power*: and it seems more reasonable to believe that he has *not*, then *Otherwise*; having so expressly declared his mind to the *Two Houses of Parliament* against it, in His most Gracious speech of *May* last, in the words following.

His Majesty.
Speech.

I am as ready to join with you in all the ways, and means, that may Establish as Firm a security of the Protestant Religion, as your own hearts can wish; and This not only during My time, (of which I am sure you have no fear) but in all future Ages even to the end of the world: And therefore am come to assure you, that what Reasonable Bills you shall present, to be pass'd into Laws, to make you safe in the Reign of any Successor (so as they tend not to Impair the Right of Succession, nor the Descent of the Crown in the True Line; and so as they Restrain not the Full Right of any Protestant Successour:) shall find from Me a ready Concurrence. And I desire you to think of some more effectual means for the Conviction of Popish Recusants, and to expedit your Counsels as fast as you can, that the world may see Our Unanimity; and that I may have the Opportunity of shewing you how ready I am to do any thing, that may give Content and Satisfaction to such Loyal, and Dutyfull Subjects.

Now

Now if so it be that the very Question it self, (tho handled with all the *simplicity* of Thought Imaginable) carries along with it so many *Difficulties*, and *Inconveniences*; and without any *Benefit* at all to the *Publick*; as is already set forth: what shall we say, if upon a Fair, & Temperate Examination of the Arguments employ'd for the support of this Disinheriting Proposition, it shall appear, upon Evident *Reason*, and a Natural Deduction of *Consequences*, that, whether the Duke *Stands*, or *Falls*, the meer Ventilation of the *Question* opens a Gap to let in all those Calamities upon us, by unavoidable *Inferences*, which we propound to avert by a *Preventional Exclusion*? To say nothing either of the *Boldnesse* of the *Argument*, from a *Private Pen*, or of the *Opposition* of a *Subject* to the *Solemn*, and *Declared Will* of his *sovereign*: And that Declaration too, recommended to Us by a Previous Grant of the Thing in the whole World which we would be thought to set the highest value upon, the Security of the *Protestant Religion* by all ways Imaginable, to This, and to Future Ages. Certainly the Trumping up of this Question, has an Ill Visage any way; but the doing of it directly against His Majesties Will, made known with his own Lips to the Contrary; This makes it look a great deal more Suspicious. For to what End is it to put our selves in a Sweat, upon a Question, whether or no the King may *Lawfully* do such a Particular thing; when he had told us before-hand, that he *Will not do it*; and the thing *cannot* be done, *Without* him? And the *Other* way, it looks Worfe; and carries such an *Innuendo* along with it, as who should say: *Look ye, my Masters; Here's a thing the Government May do if they please; and it is absolutely necessary to be done: But if They Will not*; —and so forth.

There's no managiug of this Discourse, without making frequent mention of his *Royal Highnesses Quality*, and

The Case Put.

The King
wounded
through
the Duke.

Title; and yet (saving my Duty to him in all his Capacities) I shall keep my self in these Papers, upon a *Punctual Neutrality*, as to *His Pretensions*: My business being only to Acquit my self, in what I ow to my Religion, my Prince, and my Country, where I find any of these Sacred Interests Concern'd. As for Instance; where any *Contemptuous Reflections* are cast upon the *Person* of the Duke, His Majesty himself becomes a sufferer, through the Indignities that are cast upon his Brother. Or where the *Same Argument*, that is levell'd at the Duke, strikes the King too and the Government. In These Cases I reckon my self to be at Liberty.

The Mo-
tives to
the Bill of
Exclusion.

The *Motives*, or *Inducements* to This Project of *Exclusion*, together with the very *Form itself*; are set forth in the Pamphlet abovementioned, under the Title of *A Copy of the Bill Concerning the Duke of York. viz.*

The Ex-
cluding
Clause of
the pre-
tended
Bill.

That James Duke of York, Albany, and Ulster, having departed Openly from the Church of England, and having publickly profest, and own'd the Popish Religion, which hath notoriously given Birth, and Life to the most Damnable, and Hellish Plot, (by the most Gracious Providence of God lately brought to Light) shall be excluded, and disabled, and is hereby excluded, and disabled, for ever, from Possessing, Having, Holding, Inheriting, or Enjoying the Imperial Crowns and Governments of this Realm, and These Kingdoms; and of all Territories, Countries, and Dominions, now, or which shall hereafter be, under His Majestys Subjection: and of, and from all Titles, Rights, Prerogatives, and Revenues with the said Crowns, now, or hereafter, to be enjoy'd: And that upon the Demise, or Death of His Majesty, without Heirs of his Body (whom God long preserve) the Crowns, and Governments of these Kingdoms, and all Territories, Countries, and Dominions Now, or which shall Hereafter be, under His Majesties Subjection, with all the Rights, Prerogatives, and Revenues, therewith of

The Case Put.

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of Right enjoy'd, and to be enjoy'd, shall devolve, and come upon such person who shall be next Lawfull Heir of the same; and who shall have always been truly, and professedly, of the Protestant Religion now Established by Law within this Kingdome; as if the said Duke of York were actually dead, &c.

Here is *First*, to be consider'd, the Ground of This The Exclusion; and *Then*, the Extent of it. The Ground of The Ground of Ground and Extent of This it is said to be the Dukes Departure from the Church of England, to the Romish Religion; as that which notoriously gave BIRTH, and LIFE to the PLOT.

Now Dr. Tong, that knows better, tells us, that *this is* The Duke No New Plot; but an Old one, Continu'd: and Dr. Oates, gave re- most Expressly, in the Twenty third Paragraph of his Narrative, informs us, That the English Fathers of St. Omers, their Birth writing to Thomas Whitebread, and Other Fathers Here, nor Life to pray'd them to prosecute their Design of taking away the King; and if his Royal Highness should not comply with them, to dispatch Him too: the Plot. For they did fear, that Proved by not any of the Stuarts were men for Effecting Their Purposes. Dr Oates. And in this Letter Instructions were given to the Fathers, to feel how his Royal Highness stood Affected. In the Paragraph following, the said Fathers render This Account to the afore said Letter, *That they had found that altho the Duke was a Good Catholick, yet he had a tender Affection to the King; and would scarcely be engaged in That Concern; and if they should once intimate their Designs, and Purposes unto Him, they might not only be frustrated of their Design, but also might lose his Favour. Which Letter the Deponent Saw, and Read in the Month of February.* And Dr. Oates moreover, give This Evidence against the Conspirators, upon the Tryals of Ireland, Pickering, and Grove; Fol. 22. of the said Tryal: that *They did intend to dispose of the Duke too, in Case he did not appear Vigorous in promoting of the Catholick Religion.* And this is not All neither: For the The Duke Doctor. to be dispatched too.

Doctor aforesaid, in the *Appendix* to this *Narrative*, under the Head of *The Generall design of the P O P E, Society of J E S U S, and their Confederates in This Plot*, Subjoyns this further Testimony, *Fol. 64.*

Dr. Oates
his Narrative
Fol.
64.

That in case the Duke of York will not accept these Crowns, as forfeited by his Brother unto the Pope; as of His Gift; and settle such Prelates, and Dignitaries in the Church, and such Officers in Commands, and Places, Civil, Naval, Military, as He hath Commissioned; (as Above) Extirpate the Protestant Religion, and in order thereunto, ex post facto, consent to the Assassination of the King his Brother, Massacre of his Protestant Subjects; Firing of his Towns, &c. by Pardoning the Assassins, Murderers, and Incendiaries; That then, He be also Poyson'd, or Destroy'd, after they have for some time abused his Name and Title to Strengthen the Plot, &c. Proceeding in the same Page more Particularly, that the Royal Family of the Stuarts, are condemn'd to be cut off, Root and Branch; and namely the King, Duke of York, and Prince of Aurange; because that Family hath not answer'd their Expectations; nor have they any hopes that any of them will comply with this their bloody Design, when fully discover'd to them. And Fol. 65. As to the Duke of York; notwithstanding they acknowledg his Sincerity, and Affection to Their Religion, and to the Society; and his Demonstration thereof, by his taking Bedingfield (a Jesuit) for his Confessor; they Design to dispose of Him as is above-said.

No hopes
of the
Dukes
Compliance.

The Duke
clear'd by
Dr. Oates.

How could the *Dukes Change of Religion* now give Birth to a Plot that was in Agitation before That Charge? And so for his giving Life to't; we have Proofs here of the Clear Contrary, under the Hand and Oath of the Prime, and Eminent Discoverer of the Plot it self. Here are First, Instructions from St. Omers Hither, for the feeling of the Dukes Pulse; and Secondly, it appears by the
Return

The Case Put.

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Return to Those *Instructions*, that they durst not give his Royal Highness the least hint of the Design. Beside, that in despair of the Dukes Compliance, they had mark'd out his R. H. for *Slaughter*, as well as his Majesty. A new and unheard of way, certainly, of *giving Life* to a *Plot*, for a Prince to run the risque of being *Assassinate* himself, for fear he should *disappoint* it. This Calumny of *State* being removed, That of *Religion*, I suppose, will not bear so much weight, as bordering too near upon a *Doctrine*, which all true *Protestants* do, with One voice *Condemn*.

Save only
to his Re-
ligion.

As to the *Extent* of this *Imaginary Exclusion*, we may take a Computation of it, partly from the *Frame* of This pretended *Bill*, and partly from a view of the *Consequences* that Attend it: For upon the Naked sight of the *Bill*, one would think that the *Dukes Case* were the *single point in Question*. But whosoever looks a little further, will find a *Snake in the Grass*; and that more *Inconveniences* may be grafted upon *This President*; then the very *Contrivers* of the Project themselves were aware of, of which, by and by.

The Ex-
tent of
This Ex-
clusion.

For admitting the *disinheritance* contended for, to be *Lawful*; it must be either *simply* so, upon a kind of *Om-nipotent*, and *Unaccountable Prerogative* in *Government*; or *Conditionally* so; which needs no further Explanation; Then to refer, to its *known, Legal, Visible, and Intelligible Limitations*. But if it be *Lawfull* the former way; it is *Lawful*, without any respect to *Crimes of State*; *Opinions in Religion*; *Personal Defects*, or *Inabilities*; *Minorities*; *Families*, or the Like. And then the *Power* may be as well transfer'd from *One*, to *More*, as from *One* *Another*; for I do not know of any *Law*, that permits the *One*, and prohibits the *Other*. So that at this rate; this *Hereditary Government* may be turn'd into an *Elective*, into an *Aristocrasie*, a *Democrasie*, or into a *Medly* of all these, at pleasure. And it is not to say, *what? Do*

Suppose
the Disin-
herison
Lawfull.

The dan-
ger of Ab-
solute, and
Unknown
Power.

je

A Necessi-
ty of Some
known
Funda-
mentals.

ye think that Kings, or Parliaments will be mad ? We have heard of Parliamentum Insanum, and read of Princes that have been next door to it : and though we are safe enough at Present, it is not Impossible, but Posterity may come to have More of them. Wherefore it should be in State, as it is in Play ; there should be some Common Rules Agreed upon, to keep shufflers, in Order, as well as fair Gamesters. No Government can stand, without a Foundation ; and That Foundation must be known too, and Stable ; without Running to the Cabalistical Notions of Salus Populi, and Instinct. This is it, that preserves a Nation in a due Temperament of Dominion, and Subjection ; where every man knows his Post in the Government, and stands Firm upon his Own bottom. The Foundations of Government should be like Those of the Earth ; not to be moved : For Otherwise, our Lives, Liberties, and Estates, are but Precarious, and at Mercy. In a Popular Parliament, the Crown goes to wrack, in a Prerogative Parliament, the People We have seen, and felt the One ; and there are those yet in Being, that have Heard of the Other. And from the Periods of these Distempers we furnish our selves with Presidents, (as we have Occasion) either for Tyranny, or Sedition : as if the doing of an Ill thing Once, were an Authority for the Repeating of it. And from what Root is it that all these Disorders Spring ; but the Spinning of the Thrid too Fine ; and Resolving the Plain and Practical Duties of Government, and Obedience, into Mystery, and Notion ; without shewing any State, or degree of men, what they are to Trust to ? I do not speak in this place to the Legality of things, but to the Utility of them ; and to Evince, that it is possible for a Thing to be Lawful, and yet Extremely Inconvenient. Suppose an Act of Parliament, to Prohibit the Making or Importing of any sort of Arms, or Ammunition ; the Authority would not at all Excuse the Consequence. And the Consequence, in This matter, is the Main Import of the Question, what Good
or

A thing
may be
Lawful
and yet
Incon-
venient.

or what *Ill*, will probably ensue upon it, either the *One* way, or the *Other*.

But in our way to That Disquisition, We should take Notice that there are *Four Points* to be all clear'd, before we can reasonably expect His Majesty should come to a Resolution: That is to say; 1. *The Lawfulness* of the Thing. 2. *Natural Affection*. 3. *Matter of Conscience*. And 4. *Reason of State*. In the *First Case* of the *Four* the Learned in the *Law* may be Consulted; but in the *Other Three* the *King himself* is the only Competent Judge.

Four Ob-
stacles to
be remo-
ved, be-
fore the
King pass
the Bill.

What if we should, for Quiet-sake now, let the *First point* pass for *Granted*, and suppose his Majesty convinc'd of the *Legality* of the Act? There is yet a *Brother*; a *Prince*: and a *Friend* in the Case: A Person that has as frankly ventur'd his *Bloud*, for his *King*, and his *Country*, as the meanest Subject in his Majesties Dominions. And there may be certain Stimulations of *Honour*, as well as Impulses of *Natural Affection*. Let but any *Generous Subject* make it his Own Case, and ask his Own heart, *what he himself would do under these Circumstances*; And who knows further, but a *Scruple of Conscience* may fall in too with this *Tenderness of Nature*, upon the thought of depriving a *Legal Heir*, by so extraordinary a way of his *Undoubted Birth Right*? If This should be the Rub, ther's no getting Over it. Or if the way wer'd Clear thus far; yet if His Majesty should see any thing in the *Tendency* of the Proposition, either Inconsistent with the *Dignity* of His Office, or with the *Peace*, and *Security* of His *Government*, and *People*; such *Reason of State* would undoubtedly put a Stop to any such *Bill*. How far These Reasons, or any of them, may prevail toward the Preventing, or Obstructing of This Project, we shall not presume to enquire. But as to the *Manner* of Promoting it, on the Other side; the *Quality*, the *Force*, and the *Consequences* of their Arguments; there are many things to be noted in them that seem worthy of Consideration.

No No-
rice taken
of Libels
against
His Maje-
sty, and
His Go-
vern-
ment.

It is a strange thing, in the Menage of This Cause, where the *Honour* and *Safety* of the *King* appears to be the *Main Point* in *Question*: *First*, that men should be so *Quick-sighted*, as to see things in their *Consequences* So *Remote*; and yet, at the same time, So *Blind*, as not to discern the *Affronts*, and *Indignities* that are dayly offer'd to His Majesties *Authority*, nearer hand; and the *bazzards* that more directly strike at His Sacred *Person*. My *Charity* perswades me, that if some of them had taken notice of these *dangerous Practices*, their *Loyalty* would have render'd them as *Zealous*, and *Officious* the other way: For if a Prince be destroy'd; 'tis the same Case to every good Subject, whether it be done by a *Phanatick* or a *Jesuit*. And then the *Honour* they have for the King, in His *Family*, as well as in *Himself*, would have Interpos'd, in the *Vindication* of our *Sovereigns Brother* from the *Malice*, and *Contempt* that has been past by Several *Pamphletteers* upon the very *Person* of his *Royal Highnesse*. 'Tis like they would have had the *Prudence* too, not to have markt out unto the *Rabble*, all the *Dissenters* to this *Bill*, as *Conspirators*, and the *Betrayers* of their *Country* till they should have seen the *Result* of the next *Parliament*; for fear they should find *King*, *Lords*, and *Commons* under *That Character*. This is not *Reasoning* of the Case, but down-right *Setting the Dogs at a man*.

A well
meaning
Mistake as
dangerous
as a Mal-
icious one.

There is no doubt in the world but many an *Honest man*, and a well-wisher to his Prince and Country stands well enough *Affected* to this *Bill*; (as many did in 1641. to the *Pretensions* then a *Foot*) But when they found that Other people made *Ill Use* of Their *Good meaning*, and improv'd the *Countenance* of *Reforming* the *Government* to a *Violent Dissolution* of it; How many thousand *Instances* might a body produce of an *unprofitable*, and late *Repentance*, among those *Credulous* and well-mind-*ed Gentlemen*? And it is to be consider'd also that Their *Mistakes* contributed no less to the *Ruin* of the *Church*, and *State*, then the *Malice* of the most potent

Conspirators: Nay, More perhaps; for the Error of an Honest man misleads other Honest men by Example, and gives a kind of Authority to the wickedness. Now tho this Parallel does not run upon all four; yet the Cases jump exactly in This; *the same Anti-Monarchical Principles* which were the Ground-work of *That Sedition*, are now set a foot again in Concurrence with the *present Proposition*; and supported also by some of the Active Promoters of it. So that let the Design be never so Innocent, or Lawful in it self; if it be yet made use of to Introduce the Old Disloyal, and Republican *Leaven*; it is much the Case as if a man should set Fire to his House, for fear of Thieves. Now whether the Liberties of the Press be so great, so *sovereign*, and so dangerous, or not, as I have represented them, it shall be seen in a few words, and left to the Reader to judge of the Intention of such desperate Positions, and what may be the end of such Bold Beginnings, if not seasonably Prevented. Upon the Publication of these Papers I should be glad to find some of the Fierce Sticklers for the *Kings safety* by the *Exclusion of the Duke*, as Nimble, on the Other side, for the *Honour*, and *Safety* of His Majesty, in Punishing the *Authors*, and *Promoters* of these *Libels*.

There are some Irreverences toward the person of His Royal Highness which are not with Decency to be recited, and which for other Reasons I am willing to pass over; contenting my self only with the modestest of a great many in the Author of *the Plea to the Dukes Answer*: Consider His Humours, (says he) So Fierce, Revengeful, and Resolute: But Ple say no more: who knows not how Improper it is to make a *Wolfe* a Shepherd? Nay he goes further yet: If the Duke be a Papist. (as none deny him Now) he's an Heretick, as To, or From Us: And what shall we do? Not do by the Papists, as They would by Us? But what's That He tells us Three or four lines before; That it is a Maxim among Papists, *not only that the Pope may at his Pleasure Depose Kings, and dispose of*

The Old
Cause Re-
viv'd.

Scanda-
lous Re-
flections
upon His
Royal
Highness.

The Case Put.

Seditious
Positions.

Crowns : but further, *That the People may ever chuse a King,* when he should else be an *Heretick*, So that after the Popes *Example of Deposing Protestant Kings,* We may *Depose Popish*. This is a Nail Home driven; and yet for fear it should not hold, he has bestow'd a *Rivet* upon it. I hope he will allow a *Popish* King to be an *Ill* one; and for *That* he tells ye that *when Kings themselves be Ill ones,* God not only approves of their *Removal*, but even *Himself* does it. Which is a most Emphatical way of Expounding his Meaning: For not only *ILL DUKES* but *KINGS* (I perceive *THEMSELVES* are as well to be remov'd, if they be *ILL* ons. There's Another Libel that takes the very same Byass too; he begins with the *Duke*, and *Ends* with the *King*: Laying it down for a *Maxim*, that the *King May be remov'd for Inhability to Govern*: And then for an *Use of Application*, he gives us the Late Instance of *Portugal* for a *President*. Nay I have not found any man yet, so Cautious upon This Subject, but he has let fall something *Tantamount*; And in truth the Question does Naturally lean That way. Some tell us that the *People* are the Source of *Government*; and that the *Last Resort* in All Cases of Principal Import must be to *Them*. Whereas, *First*, there was a *Providential Power*, before any Subject *Actually in Being*, for That Power to exercise it self Upon: *secondly*; there is nothing more Common, then for a People to convey away what Right they have, beyond a Power of *Revocation*. And if a man desires to see the *Covenants*; the Answer is, that the *Conditions* are either *Exprest*, or *Imply'd*: Which word *IMPLY'D* serves to all Turns and Purposes Imaginable. By a Power *IMPLY'D*, a *Protestant*, as well as a *Popish Successour* may be *Disinherited*: A *King* in Possession, *Deposed*, whether *Good*, or *Bad*. For who can set forth the Terms and Condition of an Unknown, and an Unbounded Power. A Government, we are told, cannot be suppos'd Destitute of a Power to preserve it self, in Cases of Manifest, and Publick Dangers. If we enquire where That Power of preserving

serving the Government is plac'd; the Reply is This:
 That *Governours* are set set up for the Good of the People;
 and when They fail of doing their Duty, the People may
 provide for themselves: That is to say, the People, by their
Representatives in Parliament. But what if *That Repre-*
sentative, should prove False too? The King was not
 pleas'd with the *Parliament* of 1641. nor the People with
 the *Late Long Parliament*: what's to be done Next; but
 only to go together by the Ears about it, and when they
 have their Bellies full. only *Shuffle the Cards and deal a-*
gain? From these dark Reserves of Government, the
 point Rises by Degrees into Cases of Instance, and Illu-
 stration. As in the Case of *Lunacy*, or *Unfitness to Go-*
vern; or if a Prince be really bent to Alienate his King-
dome. In These Cases it is taken up for granted, that the
 people may *Depose* and Substitute Another Sovereign.
 But who shall judg now when such a Case arrives? If
 the People; they judg for *Themselves*; and only take the
 Government out of *Other* hands, to put into their *Own*:
 what if they should say that This is the Case where it is
not; Or that it is *not*, where it is? If the King do but
 keep a *Guard* to preserve his *Person* from an *Assassin*;
 or make a *Foreign Alliance*, upon the Common Terms
 of Priviledge that all other *Crowned Heads* proceed up-
 on; he lies at the Mercy of the People, if they shall
 think fit to Interpret. This to be a Design upon an *Arbi-*
trary Power, or the *Alienation* of His *Dominions*; and
 that he is consequently *Deposable*.

It carries a very Ill face with it, that the *Two Cases* of
Disinheriting the Duke, and *Deposing the King* should be
 so Unluckily Coupled, that you shall very rarely find the
One without the *Other*: And little more then This Dif-
 ference betwixt them: that the *One* IS to be done *Forth-*
with, and the *Other* MAY be done (when the people
 please) at *Leisure*. If ever this Question should come to
 be taken up again, I do verily believe that the House of
 Commons will not thank the *Refiners* upon the *Former*
Bill,

The Kings
 Case, and
 the Dukes
 are un-
 luckily
 Coupled.

The Case Put.

Bill, for charging the Proposition with so many *Suspicious Aggravations*; as for ought any body knows, may endanger the whole Bus'ness. For These Venerable Patriots did only, out of an Excess of *Zeal*, Intend the bare *Exclusion* of the *Duke*, without Clogging the Bill with any subsequent *Incumbrances* upon the *Crown*. There are some Qualifications, I know, that look as if they would be thought to stick to the single Matter of the *Bill*; and distinguish betwixt an *Heir Presumptive*, and *Apparent*, a *King in Possesse*, and in *Esse*; and so they fortifie themselves with *Authorities* to warrant the *Proceeding*. The *Duke* is a *Subject*, they say: and not properly an *Heir* of the *Crown*; but only in *Possibility* so to be. The Unwary Reader will Imagine now, that the *Duke* being a *SUBJECT*, may be put *By*; but that if the *KING* were of the *Romish Communion*, they could not meddle with *Him*. And yet according to the Propositions above mentioned, His *Majesties* Case would be found no better than His *Brothers*. And not only so neither, but the very saying that he is so, in Construction, makes him so, even tho he should give up His Life, as His Father did, for the Reformed Profession.

The King
no safer,
then the
Duke.

It is not to say that This is either *Impossible* or *Unlikely*: For, *First*, the Thing has been done already. That is to say, This *Popular Power* has been already laid down as a *Fundamental Right* in the *People*. *Secondly*, That pretended Power has been exerted in a *Formal Charge*, of *Popish*, and *Tyrannical Designs*, upon a Prince, the most Innocent peradventure, in those Two Particulars, that ever Liv'd. And *Thirdly*, A sentence of *Death*, *past*, and *Executed*, upon That Innocent Person, in the *Name*, and by the Assumed *Authority* of the *Commons of England*. So that This Imagination is not a *Chimera*, but a *True*, and *Tragical History* of a Prince murder'd, even in Our days, upon This Foundation. And then for the *Probability* of the same Thing over again, now in *Agitation*; we have the Writings of the very Persons Concern'd, in

The Dangerous
Consequences of
placing the Power
in the People.

Evil

Evidence against them, for notwithstanding their Formalizing upon the *Lawfulness* of the Thing, in regard That his *Royal Highness* is but a *Subject*; they are Now come up roundly to the Point of *Opposing*, and *Rejecting* him, even supposing that he were their *Sovereign*: and without the Ceremony of an *Act of Parliament* in the Case.

The House of Commons passed a *Vote* upon *May 11*. last past, that if *His Majesty* should come by any *Violent Death* (which God forbid) they would *Revenge* it to the *Utmost*, on the *Papists*: Which *Vote* they Explain'd in their *Address* of the 14. by saying that they would be ready to *Revenge* upon the *Papists*, any *Violence* offer'd by THEM to *His Sacred Majesty*: By THEM'tis said, because it might be Understood Otherwise, that an *Anabaptist* might commit the *Crime*, and a *Papist* suffer for't. This *Vote*, and *Address*, are Printed Both together in the same Pamphlet; and with a most Dangerous prospect upon His Majesty's Person: if Malice on either hand should take place. For the Edge of the Reasoning is turned against it self; while the One faction is Provoked, and the Other Encouraged to the most Execrable Villanies Imaginable.

The Commons
Vote.

The Libel Here Reflected upon, is called *Englands Safety*: and said in the Title Page to be *Published for Information of all True Protestants*, that they may not be afraid, nor ashamed openly in *Parliament* to *Act*, and oppose any *Popish SUCCESSOUR* and his *Adherents* from *Inheriting the Crown of England*, in Case His Majesties Life (which God forbid) be taken from him.

This Preface was worded by somebody that knew well enough what he said; and without Dispute intended to be as good as his word. We shall not need to look any further for his Meaning than *Grammar*, and *Common Construction*. The Question was put, in Case of the *Presumptive HEIR*, And He has streyn'd the Point already, and remov'd it to the *SUCCESSOR* and his *Adherents*; From the *Expectant* to the *Occupant*, from the *Duke*, to the *King*; and so premeditates, and Encourages a *Rebellion*.

The Question
Changed,
from Heir
to Successor.

on,

A desperate Con-
sequence.

on, in the very Body of his Proposition : For His Majesty that now is, must be Dead, before the Libellers Device against the Successour can take Effect ; and *King*, and *Successour*, in This Case are *all one*. Now upon This Principle, there needs no more than to say, that *any King is a Papist*, to *Depose* him. Nay, admitting This Power to be in the People ; *Acts of Parliament* are but Matter of *Course* ; and they may do the thing even as well without giving any Reason for't ; Upon the Ground of their *Unaccountable Prerogative*. It would be known too, what his meaning is by the *Parliament* he speaks of, that is *Openly to oppose the Successour*. It cannot be understood of *King*, *Lords*, and *Commons* ; for the *King* is the *Party Opposed*, and *Excluded*. And then I would as willingly learn what kind of *Opposition* it is, that he intends. It must be an *Opposition*, either of *Force*, and *Violence*, or an *Opposition* in the way of *Argument*, *Counsel*, and *Debate*. It cannot be the *Latter* sure ; for what could be more ridiculous then to expect that a *Prince* should pass a *Bill* for the *Deposal* of *Himself*. And if it be the *Other*, we are e'en *Half-Seas-Over* already, into a New Rebellion. There is not such a Monster in Nature as a *Headless Parliament* : We have had the Experience of it ; and without Rubbing the Old Sore, or Repeating the Calamities it brought upon This Nation ; I shall only say This ; I cannot bethink my self of any sort of Oppression, either in *Religion*, *Property*, or *Freedom* ; or of any One *Crying sin*, in that Impious, and Seditious Interval, that scap'd us. And yet I must not wholly Quit This Subject without giving further Evidence of a *Confederacy* against the *King* and *Government* ; like those that Rob the House, under colour of Helping to Quench the Fire ; and in the very Instant of Pretending to save the Kingdom, they are laying their Heads together how to Destroy it : Witness the most Audacious Libel (perhaps) that ever flew in the Face of any Government.

It bears the Title of a *POLITICAL CATECHISM*, concerning the *Power & Priviledges of Parliament*, taken (as pretended) *out of His Majesties Answer to the Nineteen Propositions of June 2, 1642.* with a Construction and Application much at the rate of the Devils Gloss upon the Text to our Saviour upon the Pinnacle of the Temple. The Compiler of This Libel makes His Majesties Answer to be, Effectually, an *Admittance* of the *Right and Reason* of the *Propositions*: And the Publisher of it recommends the *Doctrine of Forty Two*, to the *Practice of Seventy Nine*. Wee'l *First* present you with the *Propositions Themselves*; *Secondly*, the *Kings Sense* upon them. And *after That*, you shall see our *Catechists New Model of Government*.

The Propositions.

1. That the Lords and others of Your Majesties Privy Council, and such great Officers, and Ministers of State, either at home, or beyond the Seas, may be put from Your Privy Council, and from those Offices and employments, excepting such as shall be approved of by both Houses of Parliament. And that the Persons put into the places and employment of those that are removed, may be approved of by both Houses of Parliament. And that Privy Councillors shall take an Oath for the due execution of their places, in such form as shall be agreed upon by both Houses of Parliament.
2. That the great Affairs of the Kingdom, may not be concluded or transacted by the advice of private men, or by any unknown, or unsworn Councillors, but that such matters as concern the publick, and are proper for the High Court of Parliament, which is Your Majesties great and Supreme Council, may be debated, resolved and transacted only in Parliament, and not elsewhere; and such as shall presume to do any thing to the contrary, shall be reserved to the censure and judgment of Parliament, and such other matters of State, as are proper for Your Majesties Privy Council, shall be debated and concluded by such of the Nobility, and others, as shall from time to time be chosen for that place, by approbation of both Houses of Parliament. And that no publick Act concerning the Affairs of the Kingdom, which are proper for Your

D

Privy

Privy Council, may be esteemed of any Validity, as proceeding from the Royal Authority, unless it be done by the Advice and Consent of the Major part of Your Council, attested under their hands. And that Your Council may be limited to a certain number, not exceeding twenty five, nor under fifteen; And if any Counsellors place happen to be void in the interval of Parliament, it shall not be supplied without the Assent of the Major part of the Council, which choice shall be confirmed at the next sitting of Parliament, or else to be void.

3. That the Lord High Steward of *England*, Lord High Constable, Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, Lord Treasurer, Lord Privy Seal, Earl Marshal, Lord Admiral, Warden of the Cinque-ports, Chief Governour of *Ireland*, Chancellour of the Exchequer, Master of the Wards, Secretaries of State, two Chief Justices, and Chief Baron, may always be chosen with the Approbation of both Houses of Parliament; and in the Intervals of Parliaments by Assent of the major part of the Council, in such manner as is before exprest in the choice of Councillors.

4. That he, or they, unto whom the Government, and Education of the Kings Children, shall be committed, shall be approved of by both Houses of Parliament, and in the Intervals of Parliaments, by the Assent of the Major part of the Council in such manner, as is before exprest in the choice of Councillors; And that all such Servants, as are now about them, against whom both Houses shall have any just exceptions, shall be removed.

5. That no Marriage shall be concluded or treated for any of the Kings Children, with any Foreign Prince, or other person whatsoever, abroad or at home, without the consent of Parliament, under the penalty of a *Premunire* unto such as shall be concluded, or treat any Marriage, as aforesaid; And that the said penalty shall not be pardoned, or dispenced with, but by the consent of both Houses of Parliament.

6. That the Laws in force against Jesuits, Priests, and Popish Recusants be strictly put in execution, without any Toleration, or Dispensation to the contrary; And that some more effectual course may be enacted by Authority of Parliament, to disable them from making any disturbance in the State, or eluding the Law by trusts or otherwise.

7. That the Votes of Popish Lords in the House of Peers may be taken away, so long as they continue Papists; And that Your Majesty will consent to such a Bill as shall be drawn, for the Education

cation of the children of Papists by Protestants in the Protestant Religion.

8. That Your Majesty will be pleased to consent that such a Reformation be made of the Church Government and Liturgy as both Houses of Parliament shall advise; wherein they intend to have Consultations with Divines, as is expressed in their Declaration to that purpose: And that Your Majesty will contribute Your best assistance to them, for the raising of a sufficient maintenance for Preaching Ministers through the Kingdom; and that Your Majesty will be pleased to give Your Consent to Laws for the taking away of Innovations and Superstition, and of Pluralities, and against scandalous Ministers.

9. That Your Majesty will be pleased to rest satisfied with that Course that the Lords and Commons have appointed for ordering of the *Militia* until the same shall be further settled by a Bill: And that Your Majesty will recal Your Declarations and Proclamations against the Ordinance made by the Lords and Commons concerning it.

10. That such Members of either House of Parliament as have during this present Parliament been put out of any Place and Office, may either be restored to that Place and Office, or otherwise have satisfaction for the same, upon the Petition of that House whereof he or they are Members.

11. That all Privy Councillors and Judges may take an Oath, the Form whereof to be agreed on, and settled by Act of Parliament, for the maintaining of the Petition of Right, and of certain Statutes made by this Parliament which shall be mentioned by both Houses of Parliament; and that an inquiry of all the breaches and violations of those Laws may be given in charge by the Justices of the Kings Bench every Term, and by the Judges of Assize in their Circuits, and Justices of the Peace at the Sessions, to be presented and punished according to Law.

12. That all the Judges, and all the Officers placed by approbation of both Houses of Parliament may hold their places, *quam diu bene se gesserint*.

13. That the Justice of Parliament may pass upon all Delinquents, whether they be within the Kingdom, or fled out of it; And that all persons cited by either House of Parliament, may appear, and abide the censure of Parliament.

14. That the general Pardon offered by your Majesty may be granted with such exceptions as shall be advised by both Houses of Parliament.

D 2

15. That

15. That the Forts and Castles of this Kingdom may be put under the command and custody of such persons as Your Majesty shall appoint, with the approbation of Your Parliament, and in the Intervals of Parliament, with approbation of the major part of the Council, in such manner as is before expressed in the choice of Councillors.

16. That the extraordinary Guards and Military Forces, now attending Your Majesty, may be removed and discharged; and that for the future You will raise no such Guards, or extraordinary Forces, but according to the Law, in case of actual Rebellion or Invasion.

17. That Your Majesty will be pleased to enter into a more strict Alliance with the States of the United Provinces, and other Neighbour Princes and States of the Protestant Religion, for the defence and maintenance thereof against all Designs and attempts of the Pope and his adherents to subvert and suppress it, whereby Your Majesty will obtain a great access of strength and reputation, and Your Subjects be much encouraged and enabled in a Parliamentary way for Your ayd and assistance in restoring Your Royal Sister and her Princely Issue to those Dignities and Dominions which belong unto them, and relieving the other distressed Protestant Princes who have suffered in the same Cause.

18. That Your Majesty will be pleased by Act of Parliament to clear the Lord Kimbalton, and the five Members of the House of Commons in such manner, that future Parliaments may be secured from the consequence of that evil president.

19. That Your Majesty will be graciously pleased to pass a Bill for restraining Peers made hereafter from sitting or voting in Parliament, unless they be admitted thereunto with the consent of both Houses of Parliament.

We have delivered these *Propositions* at length, to shew the world what a *Skeleton* of a Prince these People would have made the King of Great Britain, if he had Consented to them: Usurping to Themselves the *Royal Authority*, and leaving the King only the bare Name of an *Imperial Crown*. Out of these *Propositions*, our Chymical *Catechist* hath extracted his *Principles*; which are now Imposed upon the People, as the *Concessions* of his Late Majesty, and *Fundamentals* of State: And these *Positions* are become the *Common Arguments* of our Clubs, and Cabals. But

the Propositions are so Gross, that there will need no other Def-
cant, than only to Cite some Passages out of his Late Majesties
Answer, in Reflection upon them.

These demands (says the Late King) are of that Nature, that to ^{Hus' and} Grant them were in Effect, at Once, to Depose both Our self and Our ^{Colle-} Posterity. These things being past; we may be waited upon bare-headed; ^{ons, pag.} We may have Our hand kist; the Stile of Majesty Continu'd to Us; and ^{316.} the Kings Authority declared by Both Houses of Parliament, may be still the Stile of your Commands; We may have Swords and Maces carry'd before Us; and please Our self with the sight of a Crown, and Scepter. (And yet even these Twigs would not Long flourish when the Stick upon which they grew are Dead) But as to True, and Real Power; We should remain but the Outside; but the Picture; but the Signe of a King, &c.

And again, Tho we shall always weigh the Advices both of Our Great, and Privy-Council, with the Proportionable Consideration due to them: yet we shall also look upon their Advices, as Advices, not as Commands, or Impositions; Upon Them, as Our Councillors, not as Our Tutors, and Guardians; and upon Our Self as their King, not as their Pupil, or Ward. Pag. 318. And Further Pag. 320. We call God to Witnesse, that as for Our Subjects sake these Rights are vested in Us; So for Their sakes as well as for Our Own we are resolved not to quit them; nor to subvert (tho in a Parliamentary way) the Antient, Equal, Happy, Well-poised, and never enough Commended Constitution of This Kingdome; Nor to make Our self of a King of England, a Duke of Venice, and This of a Kingdom a Republick. Moreover Pag. 322. The Common people, when they find that all was done By them, but not For them, will at last grow weary of Journey-work, and set up for themselves; call Parity, and Independence, Liberty; devouring the Estate which had devoured the Rest; Destroy all Rights, and Proprieties, all Distinctions of Families, and Merit; And by This means the splendid, and Excellently-distinguish'd Form of Government, End in a Dark, Equal Chaos of Confusion, and the Long Line of Our many Noble Ancestors, in a Jack Cade, or a Wat Tiler.

After the Mockery of the Above-mention'd Propositions, and the Kings Just and Prophetical Judgment made upon them; we shall only Add that the Ruine of the Late King, was as Certainly ^{The Kings} the Intent of Those Undutiful Demands, as it was the Effect of ^{Ruine was} them ^{and is de-} ^{sign'd.}

them in the Execution of the Powers claim'd Thereby : and we may as reasonably conclude, that the same Pretensions, now over again, are publish't with the same Ends ; and that the Sufferance of This Licence will Naturally run into the same Consequences. For the whole work of moving a Rebellion is but, *First*, to possess the People with Ill Thoughts of the present Administration ; (which is done Abundantly already in Swarms of Defamatory Libels, which we meet with every day in the street.) *Secondly*, to possess the People with False Opinions, in the Matter of Government and Duty ; which is the business of our *Political Catechism* : *Thirdly*, to Put those Principles and Thoughts in Execution ; which is Express'd by the Drift of Another Pamphlet newly come out of the Press ; Entitled, *An Appeal from the Countrey, to the City*, of which we shall say something in another place, and proceed to our *Catechistical Positions*.

If the King be Regulated by the Law (say they) then is the King Accountable to the Law, and not to God Only. Pag. 1. The Immediate Original of the Kings Power was from the People : and if so ; then in questioned Cases, the King is to produce his Grant, (for he hath no more then what was Granted) and not the People to shew a Reservation ; For All is presumed to be Reserv'd, which cannot be prov'd to be Granted away.

Upon the Late Kings saying in his Answer to the Nineteen Propositions, Pag. 321. That the Power Legally placed in Both Houses is more then sufficient to prevent, and restrain the Power of Tyranny ; our Politick Catechizer Infers, the Two Houses to be the Legal Judges, when there is danger of Tyranny : And to have Legal Power to Command their Judgment to be Obey'd, for Prevention, as well as Restraint of Tyranny. And not only when Arms are Actually rais'd against them ; but when they discern, and accordingly declare a Preparation made Towards it. And that they have Legal Power in such times of Danger, to put into safe hands, such Forts, Ports, Magazines, Ships, and Power of the Militia, as are intended, to Introduce a Tyranny. And a Legal Power also to Levy Money, Arms, Horse, and Ammunition upon the Subjects, in such Cases of Danger even without, or against the Kings Consent.

These are his *Positions* in the very Terms ; and the passing over of such Indignities upon *His Majesties Royal Office*, and the Honour of the *Monarchy it self*, without either Punishment, or Reproof ;

Reproof; looks like a Tacite Legitimation of the Utmost Violence upon his Sacred Person. And now Consider the matchless Malice, and Absurdity of his Inference. The King having thus expounded himself in the same Page; The House of Commons (an Excellent Conserver of Liberty, but never intended for any share in Government, or for the Chusing of them that should Govern) is solely intrusted with the First Propositions of raising Monies, &c. And again the Lords being trusted with a Judicatory Power, are an Excellent Screen, and Bank between the Prince and People.

A malicious Inference.

After This open and Audacious way of Authorizing a Commotion, under a Countenance of the Peoples Right; the least breath of Air to the Coal, sets all in a Flame: The Pulpit still seconding, with a Text, the Interest, or Design of a Perverted President, or Statute. And there is no Resisting of those Outrages that are carried on by the Impulse of mistaken Law, and Gospel. Calumny and Imposture have ever been the two main Pillars of their Cause; and if they can but wheedle the Vulgar, on the one hand, and defame the Friends of the Government, on the other, their business is done. There scarce passes a day without a Libel against both Church and State; without either Provocation, or Punishment: which both shews their Malice, and confirms them in their Insolence. There is nothing so Odious, and so Ridiculous together, as betwixt Droll and Sophism, these People represent the Publick Management of Affair. And who can blame the Multitude now, under these Circumstances of License and Delusion, if they either Forget, or Depart from their Duties? is there not Law, & Power sufficient for the Preventing, or Suppressing these Indignities? Or is it a thing not worth the taking Notice of? For his Majesty to be told every day, in a Pamphlet at his Palace Gate, that His Ministers are Traitors & Conspirators; His Courtiers a Pack of Knaves; & He himself but upon his Good Behaviour to his own Subjects? WHL it end Here? DID it end Here? But whence is it that all this Vexation and Confidence proceeds? The Former is only a Fermentation of the Old Leaven (for we have our Jesuits too.) The Papal Jesuite is an Enemy to Heretical Kings, and the Protestant Jesuite will have no Kings at all, and then for their Confidence, they have both Impunity, and Encouragement: the former proves it self; and I shall now conclude with a word or two concerning the other.

The bringing of this Devillish Plot upon the Stage, has struck all men of Piety, Loyalty, and Love to their Country, with Amazement and Horrour. The Murder of a Prince, the Subversion of

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our Government, and Religion; What can be more Execrable? The thought of so Diabolical a Practice has justly transported the People to the highest degree of Rage against it, imaginable: And it is a Meritorious, and a Laudable Zeal too, so long as it contains it self within the Bounds of Law, and Duty: While the King, Council, and Parliament are, in the mean time, sitting, and Examining the Design, and doing Justice upon the Offenders.

Now there are a sort of men, that under the Countenance of *This Plot* advance another of their own, and it is but the Rubbing of a Libel with a little Anti-Popery, to give it the Popular smack; and any thing else against the Government goes down Current: If a man Writes, or Speaks, or Reasons against them, he is presently a Favourer of the Papists, a Lessener of the Plot, and run down with Noise, and Clamour. A Person of Untainted Honour and Integrity, puts in for a *Parliament-man*; it is but any Little Fellows taking advantage of the Humour of the People, and Billing of him for having some Papist to his Kinsman, perhaps, or Visiting some Lord in the Tower; or under the common Scandal of a Courtier, or a Pensioner, and he is gone to all Intents and Purposes. This is the Character they give to every man that loves the King, the Church, or the Law. They serve them as Nero did the Christians; they put them into Bears-skins; that is to say, they call them Papists, Pensioners, Conspirators, and then deliver them up to be worried by the Rabble. Shall we never distinguish between Indubitable Truths, and Transparent Falshoods? Betwixt Words and Deeds, that stand in a direct Opposition, the One to the Other? What Priviledge has a Phanatick to blow up a Government, more than a Jesuite? It must be confest, however, that he is the Braver Enemy of the two, for he scorns to sneak to the Execution of his Exploit with a Dark Lanthorn; and to take advantage of Authority by Surprise; but Arraigns Princes, and puts them to death in the face of the Sun, and at this Instant, charges the Church openly with Idolatry, Superstition, and Oppression; the State with Tyranny; and the Law it self, with Error and Insufficiency. His first work is to Accuse his Superiours of Misgovernment: And then he tells the People, next, that in Case of Misgovernment they may resume their Power. And what's all this to the PLOT?

THE END.

